The First Occupation of Western Ukraine

The old newspapers ceased at once to appear[1] but the new occupants started in all of the main cities new Communist newspapers as the *Free Ukraine* in Lviv and the *Soviet Ukraine* in Stanyslaviv. They allowed also a Communist Polish newspaper the *Red Flag* and a similar paper in Yiddish. 728 [204]

The old officials were at first encouraged to return to their posts, whether they were Polish or not but in a very short time they began to disappear and they were replaced by Ukrainian-speaking persons, some from the neighborhood and some from eastern Ukraine. At almost the same time, while preparations were begun for the proposed plebiscite, the authorities quietly picked up and incarcerated most of the old political leaders, especially those of the UNDO, the Ukrainian National Democratic League, the representatives of those parties that had sought a normalization of relations with the Poles. [661]

In the same slow and unobstrusive way the Polish police of the different cities were replaced by a "national militia." This was composed of armed groups of young men who more or less volunteered for the work of maintaining order. The Ukrainian and the Jewish organizations tried to bring these self-appointed groups under control but this proved a difficult task for, in many cases, the new Soviet authorities had encouraged some of the more lawless and tumultuous elements to undertake the work so as to profit themselves by the resultant chaos and to facilitate the calling in of their own people. [625]

This era of anxiety on the part of the population and of extreme moderation on the part of the occupying forces lasted for almost a month, while preparations were being made for the election of representatives of all organizations, factories, and groups to a National Assembly for the consideration of reunion with the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Meetings were held everywhere, at which attendance was compulsory, and everywhere there was expressed by selected speakers the gratitude of the people for their liberation from the Polish lords and the imperialistic capitalists. Khrushchov and other high functionaries arrived from Kiev to conduct these elections and to superintend the preparation of the lists of delegates. Yet it was almost at once noted that while there 728 666

[1] [1939, Russian occupation of Poland -- Analyst]

728 were a few well-known persons on the various lists of delegates,
●666 the vast majority were either completely unknown or were definitely recognized as representatives of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic or of the occupying forces.

The election on October 22[1] was carried on in the regular Bolshevik fashion with no opportunity for any choice of candidates. Over 90% of the people were marshalled to the polls and it was made clear that they had no choice but to approve the selected list. The response was, of course, practically unanimous and the next step was then in order.

728 On October 26[1] the National Assembly met in Lviv. The dele-
[185] gates, acting under definite orders, elected a presidium which included Stalin and the officials of the UkSSR. The first act was to pass a resolution of gratitude to Stalin and the Soviet leaders for their liberation of the country. Then there were a few laudatory speeches and the resolution was adopted to apply for membership in the USSR, to nationalize trade, industry and the banks, to divide the land of the state, the large landowners and the church among the landless and poor peasants, and to send a delegation to Kiev and Moscow to ask for the incorporation.

All this was a cut and dried performance to satisfy the Communist love of paper democracy and to justify their occupation of the country under the guise of liberation. There was no discussion allowed and once again the resolution was accepted unanimously.

On November 1[1] the selected delegation met Stalin, and the Presidium of the USSR in Moscow formally welcomed the liberated brothers and annexed their territory to the UkSSR. It was noteworthy that the action of Moscow completely overshadowed any reception at Kiev but this was only natural in view of the nature of the entire enterprise. There were none of those demonstrations that had marked the union of the two sections in the Ukrainian National Republic in 1919, when the vote and the union represented the will of the people.

Once these formalities had been accomplished, the Soviets felt free to act and, at a steadily increasing tempo, they went through in a few months a refined version of what they had accomplished

[1] [1939 -- Analyst]

declared: "Until the peace every citizen of the Ukrainian Republic, together with the citizens of all peoples of the Russian Republic, shall stand firmly on their positions at the front and in the hinterland".

The Soviet Russian Government was from the beginning hostile to the national claims of Ukraine and other peoples. Relying on its own military force and the support of Communist groups among the various peoples of the former Tsarist Empire, the Soviet Russian Government was planning the conquest of Ukraine and other territories that did not recognise Soviet dictatorship.

3. Elections for the All-Russian Constituent Assembly in Russia and in Ukraine

At the end of November, 1917, in Ukraine and Russia, elections for the All-Russian Constituent Assembly took place. These elections in Ukraine were free, with full freedom of press and propaganda for all parties, among them the Communist. These elections showed the great difference between the political situation in Russia and in Ukraine. In Russia the adherents of Soviet dictatorship (the Communists and the party of the Left Socialists-Revolutionaries), especially in the big cities like Moscow and Petersburg, had considerable gains. This gave the Communists and Left Socialists-Revolutionaries the basis for holding power in Russia; for they had the masses of friendly workers and peasants behind them. In Ukraine at these elections the Ukrainian Socialist parties, opponents of Soviet dictatorship, won (the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party and the Ukrainian Party of Socialists-Revolutionaries got together approximately 3/4 of all cast votes). The Russian Communist Party, in spite of the immense resources from Russia for propaganda, gained in Ukraine less than 10% of the votes. In the big cities, among the workers, the Russian Communists were in a minority too; this explains the uncertainty of the Communists in Ukraine at that time in the struggle for the dictatorship of their party.

The historian of the Communist movement in Ukraine, M. Popov, remarks that even in the big industrial centres in Ukraine "the local Communists had a lack of determination to take power into the hands of the Soviets", *History of the Communist Party 'Bolsheviks' of Ukraine:* Kharkov, 1929.

4. The Problem of Peace with the Central Powers

At the end of 1917 the Russian front against the Central Powers was decaying in a catastrophic way. This decay was hastened by the ruthless Communist propaganda for an immediate peace. In

CHAPTER III

UKRAINE UNDER SOVIET RUSSIAN RULE SINCE 1920

1. The Soviet Régime in Ukraine 1020—21

[656] 668 186 After the resolutions of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party and Lenin's letter to the Ukrainian workers and peasants announcing a new approach to the Ukrainian problem (December 1919; January-1920) the policy of Moscow towards Ukraine did not change in substance. Soviet Russia did not trust even the Communists of Ukrainian nationality or those Russian Communists who wished to meet the Ukrainian national demands even partly. The group of Communists-Federalists headed by G. Lapchinsky published in February 1920, a pamphlet entitled *Project of a Resolution on the Party Policy.* The authors of this pamphlet protested against the rule of the Russian element in Ukraine. They wrote on the "mad, and, for the cause of the revolution, disastrous plan of the occupation of Ukraine by the military and political forces of Soviet Russia. After the enslavement of the Ukrainian nation in the times of the Romanovs and Hapsburgs, every attempt to direct the fate of the country f r o m o u t s i d e will arouse the growth of nationalism".

[665] In the pamphlet, facts on the full dependence of the Communist Party of Ukraine on the Central Committee of the Russian CP are quoted: thus the Communist organisation in Ukraine — "had to fulfil all demands of the Central Committee of the Russian CP, even, if it regarded them injurious to the cause of the revolution in Ukraine".

656 ● 666 Moscow deported the opposing Communists from Ukraine or expelled them from the Party. The Soviet Russian régime in Ukraine thereto was strengthened. For this purpose Moscow gave preponderance to the Russian element in the Soviet administration in Ukraine. For instance, the election system for the 4th Congress of the Soviets in Ukraine in 1920 was the following: from 1000 soldiers of the Red Army one deputy was elected, from 10,000 workers one deputy, and one deputy from 50,000 peasants. It should be remembered that 1920 in the ranks of the Red Army in Ukraine

there were 85% Russians and only 8% Ukrainians. With this election system the representatives of the peasants, the most numerous part of the Ukrainian population, made only 12,7% of the members of this Soviet Congress. Finance, national economy, railways, labour — concisely all foundations of the economic life of Ukraine — were concentrated in Moscow. All Ukrainian co-operative organisations were subordinated to Moscow. During 1920 Ukraine had to deliver to Russia 160 million of Pud of grain (1 Pud is 36 lbs.), 6 million Pud meat, 30 million Pud potatoes, 255 million eggs, big consignments of sugar, etc. The Russian Red Army made requisitions for its needs separately and confiscated in the last months of 1920 about 30 million Pud grain in Ukraine (*Collection of Reports of the Government of the USSR:* Kharkov 1921).

No wonder that in consequence of this exploitation the Urkrainian partisan movement was spreading. At the end of 1920 there were not less than 40,000 Ukrainian partisans in Ukraine who fought against the Russian Communists as an organised force. Evidence of the extent of this struggle is given to us in the trophies of the Soviet Russian troops seized in the war with the Ukrainian partisans 1920—21: 43 guns, 1,812 machine-guns, 31,788 rifles etc. *(Collection of Reports).* In the course of only one year, 1921, the Soviet Secret Police in Ukraine suppressed 6,000 partisan organisations. (*Communist:* Kharkov, February 11, 1923).

2. The Famine of 1921/22 and the Policy of Soviet Russia in Ukraine

The Soviet Russian Government took advantage of the horrible famine of 1921/22 in Ukraine and succeeded in strengthening its rule there. A drought in the fall of 1920 and spring 1921 was followed by a bad harvest, and a great dearth of food arose. A real famine began. However, the policy of the Russian Government in Ukraine, intending to get as much food as possible, did not change. Before the outside world the Russian authorities tried to hide the hunger catastrophe in Ukraine, and directed all foreign aid coming from America and Western Europe into Russia. Though in Ukraine in autumn 1921, millions of the Ukrainian population were starving the Russian Government, nevertheless, took away from the hungry regions the rest of the food stocks, and exported them to Russia. This roused the attention of foreigners who stayed at that time in Ukraine. The American historian H. H. Fisher writes in his book on the famine of 1921/22 that the representatives of the Soviet Russian Government demanded resolutely that it was

[Ukranian constitution as of Nov. 21, 1949]

643 Art. 29. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR is accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR for all its activities.

Art. 30. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR:

a) Convenes the sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR;

b) Issues decrees;

c) Gives interpretations of the laws of the Ukrainian SSR in operation;

d) Conducts nation-wide polls (referendums);

e) Annuls decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR and likewise decisions and orders of the regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies, if they do not conform to law;

f) In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, releases and appoints Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, on the recommendation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, subject to subsequent confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR;

g) Grants the rights of citizenship of the Ukrainian SSR;

h) Confers titles of honour of the Ukrainian SSR and grants awards;

i) Exercises the right of pardoning citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Ukrainian SSR;

j) Appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives of the Ukrainian SSR to foreign states;

k) Receives the letters of credence and recall of diplomatic representatives accredited to it by foreign states.

643 646 Art. 31. Sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR twice a year.

Extraordinary sessions are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR at its discretion or on the demand of one-third of the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

646 Art. 32. The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR elects a Credentials Committee to verify the credentials of the members of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

On the report of the Credentials Committee, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR decides whether to recognize the credentials of deputies or to annul their election.

Art. 33. The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, when it deems necessary, appoints commissions of investigation and audit on any matter.

It is the duty of all institutions and officials to comply with the demands of such commissions and to submit to them all necessary materials and documents.

Art. 34. A member of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR may not be prosecuted or arrested without the consent of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, or, when the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR is not in session, without the consent of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

643 646 [666] Art. 35. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR orders new elections to be held within a period not exceeding two months from the date of expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

[Ukrainian constitution as of Nov. 21, 1949]

641 Art. 110. It is the duty of every citizen of the Ukrainian SSR to abide by the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR, to observe the laws, to maintain labour discipline, honestly to perform public duties, and to respect the rules of socialist intercourse.

685 Art. 111. It is the duty of every citizen of the Ukrainian SSR to safeguard and strengthen public socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foundation 421 of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the country, as the source of the prosperity and culture of all the working people.

Persons committing offences against public, socialist property are enemies of the people.

Art. 112. Universal military service is law.

Military service in the ranks of the Armed Forces of the USSR is an honourable duty of the citizens of the Ukrainian SSR.

687 Art. 113. To defend the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the Ukrainian SSR. Treason to the country — violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the State, espionage — is punishable with all the severity of the law and is the most heinous of crimes.

Chapter IX. The Electoral System

666 Art. 114. Members of all Soviets of Working People's Deputies — of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR and of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of regions, areas, districts, cities, settlements and villages — are chosen by the electors on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot.

Art. 115. Elections of deputies are universal: all citizens of the Ukrainian SSR who have reached the age of 18, irrespective of race, or nationality, sex, religion, educational or residential qualifications, social origin, property status or past activities, have the right to vote in the election of deputies and to be elected, with the exception of insane persons and persons who have been convicted by a court of law and whose sentences include deprivation of electoral rights.

641 Every citizen of the Ukrainian SSR who has reached the age of 21, irrespective of race, or nationality, sex, religion, educational or residential qualifications, social origin, property status or past activities may be elected as a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

Art. 116. Elections of deputies are equal: each citizen has one vote; all citizens participate in elections on an equal footing.

562 Art. 117. Women have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with men.

Art. 118. Citizens serving in the ranks of the Armed Forces of the USSR have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens.

Art. 119. Elections of deputies are direct: all Soviets of Working People's Deputies from the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of villages and cities to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, inclusive, are elected by the citizens by direct vote.

Art. 120. Voting at elections of deputies is secret.

[UKRAINIAN CONSTITUTION AS OF NOV 21, 1949]

Art. 121. Elections of deputies to Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Ukrainian SSR are held by electoral districts on the following bases:

in elections to regional Soviets - one deputy for every 15,000 to 30,000 of the population, depending upon its size;

in elections to district and area Soviets - one deputy for every 1,000 of the population; in a district or area whose population does not exceed 25,000, twenty-five deputies are elected, and in a district or area whose population exceeds 60,000, not more than sixty deputies are elected;

in elections to city Soviets or city district Soviets - one deputy for every 350 to 900 of the population, depending upon its size; in a city or city district whose population does not exceed 12,000, thirty-five deputies are elected;

in elections to the Kiev and Kharkov city Soviets - one deputy for every 1,000 of the population;

in elections to village or settlement Soviets - one deputy for every 100 of the population; in a village or settlement whose population does not exceed 1,000, nine deputies are elected, and where the population exceeds 2,500, not more than twenty-five deputies.

The basis of representation for each regional, district, city, village and settlement Soviet of Working People's Deputies is fixed in the "Ordinance Concerning Elections to Regional, District, City, Village and Settlement Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Ukrainian SSR," within the range of the bases of representation indicated in the present article.

Art. 122. Candidates for elections are nominated according to electoral district.

The right to nominate candidates is secured to public organizations and societies of the working people: Communist Party organizations, trade unions, co-operatives, youth organizations and cultural societies.

Art. 123. It is the duty of every deputy to report to his electors on his work and on the work of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies, and he is liable to be recalled at any time upon decision of the majority of the electors in the manner established by law.

Chapter X. Arms, Flag, Capital

Art. 124. The state arms of the Ukrainian SSR are a sickle and hammer of gold in relief, placed crosswise, handles down against a red background in the rays of the rising sun, and surrounded by ears of wheat, which are placed symmetrically, from bottom to top, forming a circle. Between the tops of the ears of wheat is a red star. At the bottom of the wreath are the words, "Ukrainian SSR" on a red band, and at the bottom of the ears of corn the words, "Workers of all Countries United!" in the Russian language on the right, and in the Ukrainian language on the left.

Art. 125. The state flag of the Ukrainian SSR is of cloth divided into two horizontal bands of color: the upper band, in red, is two-thirds of the width of the flag, and the lower band, in azure, is one-third of the width of the flag. In the upper part of the flag, about one-third of the distance from the staff, are a hammer and sickle of gold and above them a five-pointed star with a gold border. The relation of width to length of the flag is 1:2.

Art. 126. The Capital of the Ukrainian SSR is the City of Kiev.

Chapter XI. Procedure for Amending the Constitution

Art. 127. The Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR may be amended only by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes of the Supreme Soviet.

by the German invaders in the Ukraine, and more than two million had been abducted to slavery in Germany. Of these so deported, a considerable number perished in captivity[1].

The figure of four million Soviet citizens murdered in the Ukraine does not clearly indicate whether all of them were Ukrainians or whether a certain percentage came from other parts of the Soviet Union. No figures have been revealed showing the number of the Ukrainians killed at the front against the German armies and their satellites. However, a comparison of the pre-war and present electorate figures for the Ukraine gives some indication of the decrease, at least of the adult population. On December 12, 1937, the Ukrainian electorate was about 17,540,000; in 1939 this number was increased by the addition of Western Ukraine, which on March 24, 1940, had more than five million voters. But nearly seven years later, in the elections of February 1947, despite the fact that part of Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina, and the Transcarpathian Ukraine also had been added, the total electorate in the Ukrainian S.S.R. was only 21,545,000.

Damages to Industry and Agriculture

The damage which the Germans inflicted on the industry and farming of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Republics was tremendous, and far exceeded any comparable destruction in Western Europe.

[362] In the Ukraine the Germans destroyed or burned down 714 towns and more than 28,000 hamlets and villages, destroyed more than two million buildings and 540,000 outbuildings, and rendered about 10 million persons homeless (one-fourth of the Ukrainian population)[2].

Agriculture, animal husbandry, and industry were devastated. The coal mines were flooded. Over 16,150 industrial enterprises employing more than two million workers were stripped of machinery and the buildings heavily damaged or destroyed. The Germans wrecked or took away 127,800 electric motors and 81,600 metal-cutting lathes, destroyed railway lines and stations, and post and telegraph offices[2].

Tremendous damage was done to Ukrainian agriculture. The Germans ruined and plundered collective farms, state farms and machine and tractor stations.

Millions of hectares of planned fields were destroyed and over 56,000 tractors wrecked. Nearly 1,900,000 agricultural machines and 30,000 automobiles and other motor vehicles were destroyed or taken to Germany[3].

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1 Soviet News, London, June 29, 1946.

2 Soviet Monitor, London, February 8, 1947.

3 Letter to UNRRA from Ukrainian Government Department of UNRRA Supplies, April 6, 1946.